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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
USEC BRUSSELS
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USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ3/ECJ4/ECJ5/ECPOLAD//
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AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
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CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5/POLAD//
AMEMBASSY ANKARA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 06 ZAGREB 000335

SIPDIS

VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL PHUM PREF HR BK
SUBJECT: TFSROL: AMB. ALBRIGHT TELLS TUDJMAN MORE
PRESSURE IS NEEDED ON THE HVO; SEEKS GOC
SUPPORT FOR WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

11. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

12. IN A JANUARY 6 MEETING PRESIDENT TUDJMAN THANKED
AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT FOR U.S. SUPPORT FOR CROATIA'S
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TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND APPEALED FOR GREATER
AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE REGION THROUGH NATO. HE
ARGUED THAT THE WEST MUST AGREE ON A PEACE PLAN AND
GIVE IT FULL SUPPORT BEFORE APPLYING PRESSURE ON THE
PARTIES IN THE CONFLICT TO REACH A SETTLEMENT. HE
ASKED THAT THE LINK BE MAINTAINED BETWEEN SANCTIONS
ON SERBIA AND A SOLUTION IN THE UNPAS.

13. AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT SOUGHT CROATIA'S SUPPORT FOR
THE WORK OF THE WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL, STRESSING THAT A
LASTING PEACE IN THE REGION DEPENDS ON REMOVING
COLLECTIVE GUILT AND ESTABLISHING INDIVIDUAL
RESPONSIBILITY FOR CRIMES COMMITTED. SHE AGREED IT
WAS TOO EARLY TO TALK OF LIFTING SANCTIONS AGAINST
SERBIA AND THAT SANCTIONS SHOULD BE LINKED TO THE
SITUATION IN THE UNPAS. SHE SAID CROATIA'S IMAGE AT
THE UNITED NATIONS DEPENDS HEAVILY ON THE INFLUENCE
IT BRINGS TO BEAR TO END UNACCEPTABLE HVO ACTIVITIES.
SHE CALLED THE PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE A MEANS FOR
INTEGRATING ALL OF EUROPE AND NOTED THAT MEMBERSHIP
IN NATO ENTAILS HEAVY RESPONSIBILITIES.

14. AMB. GALBRAITH UNDERLINED THAT THE U.S. IS
COUNTING ON CROATIA'S COOPERATION ON HUMANITARIAN AID
AND WAR CRIMES ISSUES. ASSISTANT SECRETARY SHATTUCK
STATED THAT THE WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL WOULD LAY DOWN A
MARKER THAT GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS CANNOT
BE COMMITTED WITH IMPUNITY.

15. PRESIDENT TUDJMAN REPLIED THAT THE WAR CRIMES
TRIBUNAL HAD HIS FULL SUPPORT BUT THAT HE WAS
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CONCERNED THAT ALL SIDES BE REQUIRED TO SURRENDER
SUSPECTS WANTED FOR PROSECUTION. HE SAID THE GOC HAD
APPLIED PRESSURE TO REMOVE BOSNIAN CROAT LEADER MATE
BOBAN BECAUSE IT DID NOT FEEL HE WAS THE RIGHT MAN TO
NEGOTIATE A POLITICAL SOLUTION TO THE BOSNIAN CRISIS.
HE COMMENTED THAT CROATIA WANTED TO SEE BOSNIA'S
MUSLIMS LINKED TO THE WEST AND NOT BECOME AN
INSTRUMENT OF ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM. HE NOTED THAT

THE BOSNIAN CROATS HAD SUPPORTED EVERY PEACE PROPOSAL PUT FORWARD TO DATE BUT NOW FOUND THEMSELVES FIGHTING FOR THEIR VERY SURVIVAL.

END SUMMARY.

16. AMBASSADORS GALBRAITH AND ALBRIGHT MET WITH PRESIDENT TUDJMAN AT THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE ON JANUARY 6 FOLLOWED BY A DINNER. ALSO PRESENT WERE ASSISTANT SECRETARY SHATTUCK ON THE AMERICAN SIDE AND FOREIGN MINISTER MATE GRANIC, CHEF DE CABINET JURE RADIC, UN AMBASSADOR MARIO NOBILLO, AND AMBASSADOR FOR HUMANITARIAN AID SLOBODAN LANG ON THE CROATIAN SIDE.

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PRESSURE IS NEEDED ON THE HVO; SEEKS GOC
SUPPORT FOR WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

THANKS FOR SUPPORTING CROATIA'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY

17. TUDJMAN WELCOMED AMB. ALBRIGHT, STATING THAT HE WAS PLEASED THAT CROATIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS WERE DEVELOPING IN A POSITIVE DIRECTION IN MANY AREAS. HE
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ESPECIALLY THANKED THE U.S. FOR ITS SUPPORT OF CROATIA'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. HE ADDED THAT CROATIA WAS COMMITTED TO SEEKING A POLITICAL SOLUTION "AT ANY PRICE" TO THE PROBLEMS OF B-H AND THE KRAJINA. IN THAT REGARD, CROATIA OFFERED ITS FIRM SUPPORT FOR THE KINKEL-JUPPE PLAN AND TUDJMAN HAD UNDERTAKEN THE INITIATIVE TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT IZETBEGOVIC IN BONN (JAN 8).

APPEAL FOR GREATER U.S. INVOLVEMENT

18. TUDJMAN MADE A PERSONAL APPEAL FOR GREATER U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN FINDING A SOLUTION, ARGUING THAT EUROPE HAD NOT SHOWN ENOUGH UNITY OF OUTLOOK ON WHAT NEEDED TO BE DONE. SIMILARLY, UNPROFOR, WITH ITS MANY NATIONAL CONTINGENTS, LACKED SUFFICIENT UNITY OF COMMAND TO CARRY OUT ITS MISSION EFFECTIVELY. TUDJMAN THOUGHT NATO COULD DO THE JOB BETTER, WITH FEWER TROOPS, AND WITH A GREATER PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT

WEST MUST COMMIT TO ONE PLAN BEFORE APPLYING PRESSURE

19. TUDJMAN COMMENTED THAT YASUSHI AKASHI, THE SYG'S NEWLY-ARRIVED SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, BROUGHT VALUABLE EXPERIENCE TO THE JOB AND WOULD HELP TO INSTILL CONFIDENCE. HOWEVER, HE CONTINUED, TO ACHIEVE PEACE
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IT WAS ESSENTIAL THAT THE U.S., E.U., AND U.N. AGREE ON A SINGLE SOLUTION AND THEN SUPPORT IT FIRMLY. HE SPECIFICALLY CITED THE THREATS BY THE U.K. AND FRANCE TO WITHDRAW THEIR TROOPS. HE ARGUED THAT THESE AND OTHER COUNTRIES "SHOULD DECIDE WHAT IT IS THEY WANT" BEFORE PRESSURING THE PARTIES TO REACH AGREEMENT.

KEEP LINK BETWEEN SANCTIONS AND SOLUTION TO UNPAS

10. TUDJMAN SAID CROATIA WAS TRYING TO RESOLVE THE SITUATION IN THE UNPAS BY PEACEFUL MEANS WHILE RESPECTING HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES. HE APPEALED TO AMB. ALBRIGHT FOR THE U.S. TO MAINTAIN ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST SERBIA UNTIL A SOLUTION WAS FOUND FOR THE UNPAS. THE PRESIDENT DESCRIBED THE UNPAS AS "PRACTICALLY UNDER OCCUPATION BY SERBIA," WHICH IS SENDING ARMS TOGETHER WITH GENERALS AND EVEN AN ADMIRAL TO ASSIST THE KRAJINA SERB MILITARY FORCES. TUDJMAN SAID THAT CROATIA WANTS TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS

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PRESSURE IS NEEDED ON THE HVO; SEEKS GOC
SUPPORT FOR WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

WITH SERBIA VIA MUTUAL RECOGNITION -- WITHOUT WHICH,
HE ARGUED, THERE CAN BE NO STABILITY IN THE REGION.

U.S. SEEKS CROATIA'S SUPPORT FOR WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

[111.](#) AMB. ALBRIGHT TOLD TUDJMAN SHE HAD BEEN DEEPLY
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MOVED BY HER VISIT EARLIER IN THE DAY TO VUKOVAR AND
THE MASS GRAVE AT OVCARA. SHE STATED THAT PERMANENT
PEACE CAN COME TO THE REGION ONLY WHEN THE SENSE OF
COLLECTIVE GUILT IS EXPUNGED. FOR THAT TO HAPPEN,
SHE ARGUED, THE INDIVIDUALS RESPONSIBLE FOR WAR
CRIMES AND ATROCITIES ON ALL SIDES MUST BE FOUND AND
PROSECUTED. THAT IS WHY THE U.S. IS PROVIDING STRONG
SUPPORT FOR THE WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL. AMB. ALBRIGHT
SAID SHE HOPED CROATIA WOULD DO THE SAME.

NOT YET TIME TO TALK OF LIFTING SANCTIONS

[112.](#) AMB. ALBRIGHT SAID THE U.S. VIEW IS THAT IT IS
NOT YET TIME TO SPEAK OF LIFTING SANCTIONS ON SERBIA.
LIFTING SANCTIONS MUST BE LINKED TO A SOLUTION IN THE
UNPAS. SHE NOTED THAT THE U.S. HAD PLAYED A KEY ROLE
IN THE FORMULATION OF UNSCR 871 AND THAT CROATIA
"COULD COUNT ON US" TO REMAIN FIRM ON THIS ISSUE.

CROATIA'S IMAGE DEPENDS ON ACTIONS OF THE HVO

[113.](#) TURNING TO THE ISSUE OF ACCESS FOR HUMANITARIAN
AID, AMB. ALBRIGHT SAID THE U.S. IS COUNTING ON
CROATIA'S HELP TO SEE THAT THE CONVOYS GET THROUGH.
HOW CROATIA IS REGARDED AT THE UN VERY MUCH DEPENDS
ON THIS ISSUE, SHE STRESSED. SHE NOTED THAT, AT THE
BEGINNING OF THE CONFLICT, AS THE VICTIM OF SERBIAN
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AGGRESSION, CROATIA'S STOCK WAS VERY HIGH. AT
PRESENT, HO
WEVER, THE WEST IS INCREASINGLY CONCERNED
OVER UNACCEPTABLE HVO ACTIONS.

14. AMB. ALBRIGHT SAID THE U.S. KNOWS THAT CROATIA EXERTS INFLUENCE ON THE HVO, AND FAILURE TO PREVENT HVO MISDEEDS AFFECTS OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD CROATIA. SHE SAID TUDJMAN SHOULD BE AWARE THAT, ULTIMATELY, SANCTIONS MAY BE JUSTIFIED IN CROATIA'S CASE AS WELL. SHE SAID SHE HOPED THAT EVENTS WOULD NOT COME TO SUCH AN IMPASSE AND THAT CROATIA WOULD USE ITS INFLUENCE TO REIN IN THE HVO.

PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE A PATH TOWARD INTEGRATION

15. AMB. ALBRIGHT EXPLAINED THAT A KEY PURPOSE OF HER VISIT TO EASTERN EUROPE IS TO DISCUSS PRESIDENT CLINTON'S PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE. THE SECURITY OF

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CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE IS OF GREAT CONCERN TO THE
NATO ALLIANCE. THE U.S. WANTS A SAFE, SECURE
CONTINENT WITHOUT ARTIFICIAL DIVIDING LINES. IN THAT
REGARD, THE PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE IS A DYNAMIC AND
EVOLUTIONARY PATH TOWARDS ULTIMATE INTEGRATION OF
EASTERN AND WESTERN EUROPE AND NOT A DETOUR AS SOME

CLAIM.

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116. AMB. ALBRIGHT POINTED OUT THAT MEMBERSHIP IN
NATO CARRIES WITH IT GREAT RESPONSIBILITIES. SHE
NOTED THAT DIFFERENT COUNTRIES WILL DEMONSTRATE THE
ABILITY TO ACCEPT THESE RESPONSIBILITIES AT DIFFERENT
TIMES. KEY IN THIS REGARD WILL BE THE ACHIEVEMENT OF
A FULLY DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY WITH A MARKET ECONOMY IN
WHICH CSCE PRINCIPLES AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY ARE
RESPECTED.

117. AMB. ALBRIGHT SAID THE SITUATION IN THE FORMER
YUGOSLAVIA MUST BE RESOLVED. "THIS KILLING IS A
BLIGHT ON SOCIETY." AMERICA IS NOT ABSENT IN THIS
CONFLICT, SHE STATED, BUT WE ARE NOT WILLING TO FORCE
A SOLUTION ON THE PARTIES. A FINAL AGREEMENT MUST BE
ACCEPTED WILLINGLY.

U.S. COUNTING ON CROATIA'S COOPERATION

118. AMB. GALBRAITH SAID HE WISHED TO REINFORCE THE
COMMENTS MADE BY AMB. ALBRIGHT. HE NOTED THAT HE HAD
SPOKEN TO THE PRESIDENT MANY TIMES ON THE ISSUE OF
ACCESS FOR HUMANITARIAN AID TO CENTRAL BOSNIA. IN
THAT REGARD, WE HAD SEEN SOME PROGRESS, BUT WE WERE
LOOKING FOR MORE. HE COMMENDED CROATIA ON USING ITS
INFLUENCE TO OBTAIN THE RELEASE OF DETAINEES IN B-H.

119. ON THE ISSUE OF WAR CRIMES, AMB. GALBRAITH SAID
THAT CROATIA'S COOPERATION WAS CRITICAL. MANY CRIMES
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HAD BEEN COMMITTED ON CROATIAN SOIL AND MANY PEOPLE
PRESENTLY LOCATED IN CROATIA, INCLUDING REFUGEES FROM
B-H, HAD BEEN WITNESSES TO CRIMES. HE EXPRESSED
APPRECIATION FOR CROATIA'S WORK IN COLLECTING
EVIDENCE AND COOPERATION ON THE INVESTIGATION OF MASS
GRAVES. THE AMBASSADOR POINTED OUT THAT IT IS LIKELY
THAT CROATS TOO WILL BE SOUGHT IN CONNECTION WITH WAR
CRIMES. IT WILL BE IMPORTANT THAT CROATIA SURRENDER
SUCH PEOPLE FOR PROSECUTION. NO ONE, WITH THE
POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF B-H, HAS MORE
REASON THAN THE GOVERNMENT OF CROATIA TO PURSUE THIS
ISSUE WITH THE UTMOST VIGOR.

WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL LAYING DOWN A MARKER

120. A/SHATTUCK STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE WAR
CRIMES TRIBUNAL AND NOTED THE CONTRIBUTION OF
PERSONNEL THAT THE U.S. INTENDS TO MAKE. HE
EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR PRESIDENT TUDJMAN'S

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STATEMENTS OF SUPPORT, NOTING THAT THE TRIBUNAL IS
NOT A SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT BUT WILL LAY DOWN AN
IMPORTANT MARKER THAT GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN
RIGHTS CANNOT BE COMMITTED WITH IMPUNITY.

ALL SIDES MUST COOPERATE WITH TRIBUNAL

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[¶](#)21. IN RESPONSE, PRESIDENT TUDJMAN EXPRESSED HIS
THANKS FOR THE DELEGATION'S VISIT TO VUKOVAR, WHICH
HAS GREAT SIGNIFICANCE FOR CROATIA. HE NOTED, WITH
REGRET, THAT THERE ARE NUMEROUS OTHER AREAS OF
CROATIA DEVASTATED IN A SIMILAR FASHION.

[¶](#)22. TUDJMAN ASSURED AMB. ALBRIGHT THAT CROATIA WILL
SUPPORT ALL EFFORTS TO PURSUE THE ISSUE OF WAR CRIMES
AND DO ALL POSSIBLE TO FIND THOSE WHO ARE PERSONALLY
RESPONSIBLE. HE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT IT WOULD BE
"BAD" IF CROATIA, WHICH WAS A VICTIM OF AGGRESSION,
WERE TO DELIVER ITS OWN CITIZENS FOR PROSECUTION
WHILE THOSE OF THE AGGRESSOR REMAINED UNTOUCHED.

BOBAN NOT RIGHT MAN TO NEGOTIATE PEACE

[¶](#)23. TUDJMAN NOTED THAT CROATIA HAD BROUGHT ITS

INFLUENCE TO BEAR TO EFFECT CHANGES IN THE BOSNIAN CROAT LEADERSHIP. HE SAID MATE BOBAN WAS NO LONGER THE MAIN REPRESENTATIVE OF OR CHIEF NEGOTIATOR FOR THE BOSNIAN CROATS. STILL, TUDJMAN ARGUED THAT BOBAN COULD NOT BE HELD PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL THE MISTAKES WHICH HAD BEEN MADE ON THE CROAT SIDE. HE SAID BOBAN HAD COME OUT OF OBSCURITY TO LEAD THE DEFENSE OF HERZEGOVINA AGAINST SERBIAN AGGRESSION AND THAT IN DOING SO HE HAD ALSO DEFENDED CROATIA. LIKEWISE, BOBAN HAD LED THE DEFENSE WHEN MUSLIM

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FORCES HAD TRIED TO TAKE AWAY THE GAINS MADE BY BOSNIAN CROATS. TUDJMAN ACKNOWLEDGED, NEVERTHELESS, THAT BOBAN WAS NOT THE RIGHT PERSON TO TAKE THE LEAD IN THE PRESENT EFFORTS TO FIND A POLITICAL SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT.

CROATIA WANTS BOSNIA'S MUSLIMS LINKED TO THE WEST

124. TUDJMAN SAID THAT CROATIA WAS DOING EVERY THING POSSIBLE TO REMOVE OBSTACLES TO A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. HE STATED THAT CROATIA HAD A VERY STRONG INTEREST IN SEEING THAT B-H MUSLIMS WERE LINKED TO THE WEST AND DID NOT BECOME AN INSTRUMENT OF ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM. HE NOTED THAT CROATIA HAD URGED BOSNIA'S CROATS TO SUPPORT THE (EARLY 1992) REFERENDUM ON INDEPENDENCE. CROATIA WAS THE FIRST COUNTRY TO HAVE AN AMBASSADOR ACCREDITED IN SARAJEVO. CROATIA AND THE BOSNIAN CROATS HAD SUPPORTED EVERY PEACE PROPOSAL THAT HAD BEEN OFFERED: THE

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ACTION SS-00

INFO	LOG-00	AID-01	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DOEE-00	EB-01
	EUR-01	OIGO-01	HA-09	H-01	IMMC-01	TEDE-00	INR-00
	IO-16	L-01	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01
	PM-01	PRS-01	P-01	RP-10	RPCS-01	SCT-03	SIL-00
	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00	SSO-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00
	USIE-00	RPE-01	SNIS-00	NISC-02	/058W		

-----1DC28A 251815Z /38

P 251910Z JAN 94
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0639
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC PRIORITY
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USMISSION USVIENNA
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY MADRID
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J5-PMA/J2I//
SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA

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AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
USEC BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ3/ECJ4/ECJ5/ECPOLAD//
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//DO/LG/XP/IN/POLAD//

AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5/POLAD//
AMEMBASSY ANKARA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 06 OF 06 ZAGREB 000335

SIPDIS

VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: [PREL](#) [PHUM](#) [PREF](#) [HR](#) [BK](#)
SUBJECT: TFSROL: AMB. ALBRIGHT TELLS TUDJMAN MORE
PRESSURE IS NEEDED ON THE HVO; SEEKS GOC
SUPPORT FOR WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

CANTONIZATION IDEA OF CUTLHEIRO, THE TEN PROVINCES
PROPOSAL IN VANCE-OWEN, AND THE UNION OF THREE
REPUBLICS CURRENTLY BEING PROPOSED. THE END RESULT,
ACCORDING TO TUDJMAN, IS THAT THE CROATS IN BOSNIA
ARE NOW FIGHTING FOR THEIR VERY SURVIVAL.

SCANDINAVIZATION OF THE BALKANS?
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125. THE PRESIDENT CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT HE VIEWED
THE CONFLICT IN THE BALKANS AS ANALOGOUS TO THE
SCANDINAVIAN WARS OF THE LAST CENTURY. HE EXPRESSED
HIS BELIEF THAT REPEATED ATTEMPTS BY ONE NATION TO
ASSERT HEGEMONY OVER OTHERS IN THE REGION WILL ONLY
BE SOLVED WHEN THERE IS MUTUAL RECOGNITION AND FULL
RESPECT FOR THE ETHNIC RIGHTS OF ALL GROUPS.

A GOOD BUT MIXED RECORD

126. AMB. ALBRIGHT SAID THAT SHE SECONDED TUDJMAN'S
LAST THOUGHTS, NOTING THAT THE RECENT HISTORY OF THE
BALKANS WAS LITTERED WITH MISTAKES AND MISSED
OPPORTUNITIES. SHE EXPLAINED THAT THE U.S. WISHED TO
HAVE THE BEST POSSIBLE RELATIONS WITH CROATIA AND
LOOKED FORWARD TO THE TIME WHEN THAT WOULD BE
POSSIBLE. THE AMBASSADOR SAID THAT CROATIA HAD HAD A
GOOD BUT MIXED RECORD. SHE RECOGNIZED THAT THE
COUNTRY WAS OPERATING UNDER DIFFICULT CONDITIONS BUT
EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT PRESIDENT TUDJMAN WOULD TAKE
THE NECESSARY STEPS TO PROTECT CROATIA'S GOOD NAME
AND ESTABLISH AN EXCELLENT RECORD SO THAT THERE WOULD
NEVER BE THE NEED EVEN TO THINK OF SANCTIONS.

127. THIS CABLE WAS APPROVED BY AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT.

GALBRAITH

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